

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

SS-20 NSC-10 ACDA-19 OMB-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 DRC-01 /131 W

----- 090985

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2396

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBAASSY VIENNA IMMEDIATE

ALL NATO CAPITALS 3403

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 5180

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-81

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES: OCTOBER 26 SPC DISCUSSION

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: USNATO 4982

SUMMARY: SUBJECT TO CONFIRMATION BY UK ON OCTOBER 29, SPC AGREED THAT ALLIED NEGOTIATORS COULD REFER IN THEIR OPENING STATEMENTS TO THE ALLIED INTEREST IN PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES, ALTHOUGH THEY SHOULD NOT MENTION ANY SPECIFIC MEASURE. THERE IS NO RPT NO AGREEMENT ON SPECIFIC PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES. UK REP OPPOSED MEASURES LISTED IN PARA 23, SUBPARAS (II)-(IV) REFTEL, AND PROPOSED ALTERNATIVE MEASURE OF DECLARATION NOT TO INCREASE LEVEL OF FORCES IN NGA DURING COURSE OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. FRG REP SAID HE WOULD NEED SOME TIME TO RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS ON PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES AND ON NEW UK PROPOSAL, AND
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COMMITTEE AGREED TO SCHEDULE NEXT DISCUSSION ON SPECIFIC MEASURES FOR NOVEMBER 5. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING BRIEF, INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSION OF PRE-REDUCTION

MEASURES ON OCTOBER 24, AT WHICH TIME U.S. REP URGED EARLY ALLIED AGREEMENT ON PROPOSALS TO THE EAST, SPC HAD FULLER EXCHANGE ON OCTOBER 26. MC REP (CULIN) REPORTED THAT MBFR WORKING GROUP WILL RELEASE ON OCTOBER 29 ITS SYMOPSIS OF EXISTING STUDIES ON CONSTRAINTS.

2. DANISH REP (WILLARDSON) SAID THAT COPENHAGEN DID NOT WISH TO DROP PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES. IF NOT AGREED UPON BEFORE REDUCTIONS, THEN THEY COULD BE TAKEN UP AS COLLATERAL MEASURES. AS FOR PARTICIPATION BY NON-U.S. NATO FORCES, HE BELIEVED IT WAS UP TO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO DECIDE WHO SHOULD JOIN SUCH MEASURES. FROM DANISH STANDPOINT, MAJOR THREAT IS POSED BY GDR AND POLICH FORCES IN THE BALTIC, AND PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF EXERCISES AND MOVEMENTS WOULD BE HELPFUL. DENMARK REALIZED THAT NATO COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT RECIPROCAL CONSTRAINTS ON THEIR FORCES. HE DID NOT EXCLUDE APPLICATION OF MEASURES ON DANISH TERRITORY, IF THIS WAS REQUIRED BY ALLIANCE SECURITY INTERESTS, BUT DID NOT SEE THE NEED FOR INCLUDING DENMARK. WILLARDSON WAS OPPOSED TO RESTRICTIONS WHICH WOULD LIMIT MOBILITY AND DEPLOYMENT CAPABILITIES OF DANISH FORCES OR REINFORCEMENT FROM ABROAD.

3. UK REP (LOGAN) MADE LENGTHY STATEMENT OF UK POSITION. MISSION WILL TRANSMIT COMPLETE TEXT OF STATEMENT WHEN IT IS CIRCULATED ON OCTOBER 29. HIGHLIGHTS FOLLOW:

(A) UK FAVORS SIMPLEST AND FEWEST COLLATERAL MEASURES, SINCE IT IS HARD TO FORESEE THEIR CONSEQUENCES. THOSE ALLIES WHO FAVOR SHCH MEASURES SHOULD DEMONSTRATE THEIR SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM ADVAYAGES AND DISADVANTAGES, AND PROVIDE MORE PRACTICAL DETAIL THAN HAS YET BEEN FORTHCOMING.

(B) UK IS INTERESTED IN INHIBITING SOVIET MOVES, AND IS CONCERNED OVER ACTIVITIES OF NON-SOVIET WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES, BUT IS NOT INTERESTED IN CONSTRAINTS ON UK FORCES, UNLESS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO GET AGREEMENT FROM THE OTHER SIDE.

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(C) AS TO TYPES OF MEASURES, UK FULLY SHARES SHAPE JULY 19 VIEW THAT THEY SHOULD BE AS TIGHT AS POSSIBLE OUTSIDE NGA AND AS LOOSE AS POSSIBLE INSIDE NGA. UK WAS ESPECIALLY MINDFUL ALSO OF FRG DESIRE TO AVOID CREATION OF SPECIAL ARMS CONTROL AREA.

(D) RE FOUR MEASURES LISTED IN PARA 23, OF ALLIANCE MBFR APPROACH PAPER, UK CONSIDERED MEASURE (I) A PRACTICAL WAY OF CHECKING TO SEE IF SOVIETS ARE INCREASING FORCES IN NGA, AND COULD ALSO ENVISAGE THIS AS A POST-REDUCTION MEASURE. UK DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS WOULD BE AN EASY MEASURE TO MULTILATERALIZE IN SECOND PHASE. UK CONSIDERED MEASURES (II) AND (IV) BEST LEFT IN CSCE CONTEXT, WHERE THEIR VOLUNTARY

CHARACTER MADE THEM MORE ACCEPTABLE.
MEASURE (III) WAS OF DIFFERENT CHARACTER, SINCE IT WOULD
IMPOSE LIMITATIONS; IT WAS BETTER TO HANDLE THIS MEASURE IN
CONNECTION WITH DISCUSSION OF OTHER LIMITATIONS SUCH AS REDUCTIONS
THEMSELVES. (LATER IN DISCUSSION, LOGAN HINTED BROADLY THAT
UK WOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT MEASURE (I).)

(E) UK HAD CONSIDERED ALTERNATIVE MEASURES FOR ASSO-
CIATING OTHER ALLIES WITH PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS. ONE
SUGGESTION WOULD BE TO HAVE ALL PARTIES DECLARE THAT THEY
WOULD NOT INCREASE THE LEVEL OF THEIR FORCES IN THE NGA
DURING MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. NORMAL EXERCISES AND MANEUVERS
WOULD NOT BE EFFECTED. THIS DECLARATION, WHICH WOULD HAVE T
BE DRAFTED CAREFULLY, COULD BE IN A SINGLE DOCUMENT.

(F) ANOTHER POSSIBLE MEASURE, WHICH LONDON WOULD BE
WILLING TO CONSIDER, WOULD BE TO HAVE PARTIES AGREE TO FIGURES
ON CURRENT FORCE LEVELS.

(G) ON GENERAL QUESTION OF BILATERAL VERSUS MULTILATERAL
MEASURES, UK BELIEVED THAT ENTIRE MBFR EXERCISE ALREADY HAD A
MULTILATERAL CHARACTER. SEVERAL ALLIES WERE PARTICIPATING IN
TALKS, AND WOULD SIGN AGREEMENTS. UK DOUBTS THAT ANY PRE-REDUCTION
MEASURES WOULD ADD VERY SUBSTANTIALLY TO THE ALREADY-ESTABLISHED
MULTILATERAL CHARACTER OF TALKS.

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INRE-00 DRC-01 /131 W

----- 091050

O 262115Z OCT 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2397

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY VIENNA IMMEDIATE

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RUFHGV /USMISSION GENEVA 1436

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4. DUTCH REP (SIZOO) RECALLED EARLIER U.S. ARGUMENT AGAINST
IDEA OF FORCE LIMITATION AGREEMENT, I.E., THAT A STRINGENT

AGREEMENT WOULD TAKE TOO LONG TO NEGOTIATE AND A LOOSE AGREEMENT WOULD NOT BE MEANINGFUL. LOGAN RESPONDED THAT THE MEASURES ALREADY LISTED IN PARA 23, PARTICULARLY MEASURE (IV) (EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS), WERE ALREADY COMPLEX AND WOULD TAKE CONSIDERABLE TIME TO NEGOTIATE. UK BELIEVED THAT A DECLARATION BY EACH PARTY NOT TO EXCEED CURRENT FORCE LEVELS WOULD BE A RELATIVELY "LOOSE" STEP, WHICH COULD BE BROUGHT ABOUT WITHOUT THE DISADVANTAGES OF MORE PRECISE MEASURES.

5. NORWEGIAN REP RECALLED THAT THERE WAS NO ALLIED AGREEMENT

ON DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES AND CMB'S. AND SUGGESTED EARLY CONSULTATIONS ON THAT POINT.

GREEK REP SAID THAT ATHENS ATTACHED IMPORTANCE TO PRE-REDUCTION MEASURE (I.E. PARA 30 (IV)) FOR THE BLANKS AND WOULD LIKE TO EXPANDE AREA OF APPLICATION OF CONSTRAINTS. BELGIUM FAVORED PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES AND WISHED TO AVOID IMPRESSION OF BILATERAL NEGOTIATION. DUTCH REP ACCEPTED PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES
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BUT BELIEVED THEY SHOULD BE LOOSE. ITALY ALSO FAVORED SUCH MEASURES.

6. U.S. REP NOTED URGENT NEED FOR DECIDING WHETHER ALLIED NEGOTIATORS IN VIENNA SHOULD SAY SOMETHING ABOUT PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES IN THEIR OPENING STATEMENTS. HE NOTED THAT, WHILE THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT ON SPECIFIC MEASURES, ALL ALLIES APPEARED TO FAVOR SOME SORT OF PRE-REDUCTION

MEASURE. UK REP SAID HE BELIEVED LONDON COULD ACCEPT THIS PRINCIPLE, BUT WISHED TO WITHHOLD AGREEMENT UNTIL SPC MEETING ON OCTOBER 29. CANADA AND FRG AGREED WITH U.S. SUGGESTION.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 02 APR 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NATO05180
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS, 12-31-81
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731064/abqcecx.tel
Line Count: 200
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: USNATO 4982
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17-Aug-2001 by elyme>; APPROVED <26-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES: OCTOBER 26 SPC DISCUSSION
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: STATE
SECDEF INFO AMEMBASSY VIENNA
ALL NATO CAPITALS
GENEVA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005